153

The Madras Review

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THE MOPILA OUTBREAK

The tragedy now being enacted in Malabar is of such appalling magnitude that it has impressed all but a few individuals in Madras and elsewhere whose sole profession in life is to distort facts and manufacture perverted views for popular consumption. It is an old saying that there are none so blind as those that will not see. Some of our "popular" leaders go farther and not only will not see most things that are obvious to other eyes but even the little they could not help seeing they view through improvised spectacles of a particular hue All right-minded persons agree in thinking that the present is hardly the time to apportion blame for the heartrending incidents on the West Coast, and that the crying need of the hour and the immediate duty of all is to range themselves on the side of law and order, to relieve the tension and control the situation. To blame the District Magistrate and the police as the originators of the mischief and enter on a learned disquisition on the legality or otherwise of the introduction of Martial Law while wholesale looting, arsen, forcible conversion and murder are going on unchecked, to uphold the Mopilas as a fine manly race who have been goaded to desperation by the repressive policy of the Government, to attempt to minimise and discredit all accounts of the tragic happenings in [illegible] versions to [illegible] of them, display a mentality at once sickly and morbid, a heart of stone callous to all emotions of pity and charity not to mention love and goodwill. We cannot consider these men incapable of realising the effect their gratuitous vapourings would have on the public mind especially the unfortunate misguided Mopila. To point out the errors of the less educated is the function of leaders elected and self-constituted. But if the effect of their utterances even well-intentioned is to egg them on to further mistakes we cannot congratulate them on their achievement. It may verge on the criminal and if definitely traced home to any individual, must be visited with severe punishment. If, on the other hand, in the course of the inevitable inquiry that must follow the riots any of those in authority is found responsible for this terrible calamity Martial Law that now applies to the Mopilas will be too lenient an instrument of punishment to people who are paid enormous salaries and invested with almost absolute power solely to maintain law and order.

At a time when all educated Mopilas deplore the mistake of their co-religionists and compatriots there have been found here and there a few Hindus and others becoming unpaid advocates of the rebels and trying to extenuate their actions. There have always been men to whom a state of peace and order spells a sentence of obscurity. Some members of this group have enlightened the public with their views on the Malabar situation based on current information at best meagre and on previous knowledge almost nil. [illegible] quell have been found like Mr. [illegible] Mr. Shankut Ali volunteering to [illegible] very generously to proceed the di[illegible] there provided the Government withdrew troops and stopped the Martial Law regime. In the first place these worthy gentlemen forget that with nearly six regiments of troops and adequate war equipments the rebels are plying a fairly vigorous trade in arsen and plunder, forcible conversion and murder. In the face of these atrocities which official communiques as well as private accounts tell us, are the order of the day to suggest a withdrawal of all troops indicates a mentality that defies description. The suggestion can only

be the outcome of either overweaning presumption born of crass ignorance or of some ulterior motive which we do not like to mention. But it is significant that no Malayalee, Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian, has hitherto come forward as an apologist for the Mopila rising nor depricated the strong measures taken to suppress it. His only regret is that the steps taken are not sufficiently vigorous to bring about a speedy ending of the unfortunate state of affairs.

In a place like Malabar not famous for an over-abundance of roads and other means of communication, intercepted by numerous rivers and streams, steep hills and low valleys, possessing a large population of Mopilas fairly equipped with arms and ammunitions and surcharged with religious fervour, political animosity and agrarian discontent, a rising like the present cannot be quelled by means of a few regiments of soldiers. From its topographical aspect the country is admirably suited to carry on a prolonged guerrilla warfare. Now especially when the fields are under paddy and still wet with recent rains movement of troops with their equipment and supplies must necessarily be slow and difficult while the natives of the soil unencumbered with all forms of external paraphernalia are naturally in a position of far greater advantage. To deal successfully with the situation under the circumstances much larger forces are necessary, considerable batches of whom should be stationed all over the district without the same troops being called upon to make forced marches from place to place. The latter course will enable the rioters to prepare [illegible]ushes and surprises. Any little success [illegible] will prolong the struggle unduly [illegible] both sides, not to [illegible] entail great loss on [illegible] of which the Government, loss of prestige, [illegible] From all accounts the forces now in [illegible]lous. are far below the actual requirements. The Government in all fairness to themselves, to the Hindu and other population of Malabar even the Mopila rioters themselves, ought to despatch far larger contingents at once and put an immediate end to the disturbance.

Much capital has been made in some quarters out of the refusal of Lord Willingdon to permit Mr. Yakub Hasan to proceed to Malabar. We regret to note the absence of any sense of humour on His Excellency's part. We should have been willing to pay a handsome price to see Mr. Yakub Hasan setting out on his pilgrimage, after the manner he gave his undertaking not to re-enter Malabar and got his release while those who went to jail on his behalf were still in prison. Many Mopilas look upon this performance as a sneaky 'trick' and have all the regard and affection for its author that such behaviour inspires. If, in the present state of the country this hero were to go there it is highly doubtful if all the resources of the British Empire could guarantee to retain his head in its present resting place. We are sure that even Mr. Yakub Hasan realises this. If His Excellency had permitted Mr. Hasan to proceed there is every chance of his having abruptly terminated his journey at Arkonam or thereabout and retracing his way back to safe Madras. We are waiting to see how many of the valiant gentlemen of the non-violent persuasion honoured by the Madras Provincial Congress recently held at Tanjore would be proceeding to the disturbed area. Till now we have not heard of any one except Mr. Prakasam actually reaching Malabar nor even starting on his diplomatic cum philanthropic mission.

Meanwhile it strikes us that when the Pulianthope disturbances are still raging in Madras a little charity exhibited at home may not be entirely out of place. So far as Malabar is concerned her one and earnest prayer to all benefactors, temporary and permanent, is "In the name of Heaven leave us alone". At the same time we feel it our duty to impress on the Government that in dealing with a race like the Mopilas it is essential that strong action should be tempered with justice and mercy. It will go a long way to help to speedily allay the present disturbance and prevent future excesses. It was the fault of the Government to have kept the Mopila ignorant. The rich and educated [illegible] are on the side of law and order. The ignorant and starving [illegible] out to disturb ths existing conditions. The root causes of the trouble are ignorance and poverty. The advent of the agitator in their midst is only an accident. Mere repression alone will not render the Mopila peaceful and quiet. Sympathetic statesmanship is never more in requisition at any time than now in Malabar. On the successful exercise of British statesmanship lies the honour and position of the British in India.

155

PROFESSOR YAKUB HASAN— JUGGLER, CONJUROR & MAGICIAN

(SUB ROSA)

Mr. Yakub Hasan's magic performance at the Madras Provincial Conference recently held at Tanjore confirms one's belief in the absolute veracity of the incidents chronicled in that famous book—Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp. Mr. Yakub Hasan is even greater than his ancestor in that while the latter could perform his miracles only with the aid of the wonderful Lamp the former can do his unaided. This great successor of Aladdin begins his show by throwing up his hands and after convincing his audience that they are really and truly empty presents them an astonishing surprise in the shape of a full-fledged, independent India and an all-powerful Khalifa. Any audience would have been satisfied with the gift of either of these blessings while to receive both simultaneously exceeded all expectations. If on the top of these things we could get non-violence also thrown in along with Non-co-operation and all its well-advertised benefits the outcome could only be unalloyed satisfaction alround. This actually happened at Tanjore. And but for the fact that there are still a few sceptics, unbelievers, pessimists and malingerers left behind I would not have ventured on this report.

Our magician begins his performance with bare unequipped boards as representing the state of India under the Government of India Act of 1919, denuded af all good things and devoid of all redeeming features. After some sleight of hands and a few twists and turns with that magician's wand, non-violent Non-co-operation, he presents to our astonished eyes the picture of Swaraj, "the ideal Indian National Own Govern ment", that is purely Indian in all its features and aspects, indigenous in growth the free atmosphere [illegible] native soil instead of from foreign artificial manure. "The provinces are demarcated on linguistic basis, the local vernacular being the language of administration and legislature and medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Hindustani as *lingua franca* replaces English". Services are Indianised, salaries brought into line with the cost of decent living in Indian style, and "only such foreigners are retained in Indian service as agree to serve India faithfully to be paid for on terms of mutual agreement between employers and employees. Cost of administration is reduced and taxation made lighter. Industries flourish. India becomes self-contained, cost of living is reduced and "distressfull poverty" is banished from the land for over. Military charges are reduced to a minimum as we will be on terms of peace and good will to our neighbours", e. g. on the Frontier and now in Malabar.

This is the New India of Yakub the Magician. Magic ceases to be magic if you know how the results are brought about. He therefore does not tell us his methods. In the same picture with India and looming large in front and behind and on all sides are the Khilafat wrongs, thrashing merci-lessly with the same whip and at the same time England, her Allies, Greece, Lord Milner and his Commission and the British Empire. This reminds once more of a free fight sometimes displayed near a liquor shop than a political discourse to an enlightened audience. The lashing becomes more vehement as Persia, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Afghanistan come into the throng. At this stage India and the Hindus are forgotten and Islam alone prevails. The fury is enhanced at the recollection of Mr. Sastry who has displayed his ignorance "of the very genus of the Khilafat question." At this stage Mahatma Gandhi is pressed into service and we are given the picture of "non-payment of taxes which will necessarily involve us into civil disobedience" which "will have to be our next step unless something more potent is evolved by our Mahatma leader in the meantime." "The picketing of foreign cloth and liquor provide opportunity to thousands of [illegible] still higher their strength and go to [illegible] and to pre[illegible] and sacrifice." Who will [illegible] feel grateful for this excellent advice though I unwillingly confess that it reminded me of the "Fox without a Tail."

Lastly, the Malabar Mopila is brought on the stage to give a rounding off to the whole performance with a display of his fine manliness and "his own crude and blunt manner" and of the way "the non-violent character of our programme has been specially impressed upon him". Some special reference is made to "the three Malayalee

patriots and myself" who were arrested and imprisoned in February last, though care is taken not to divulge the manner of "My" coming out by the back door, unknown to to the Malayalee patriots.

THE DRINK QUESTION.

(Contributed).

One significant fact about the present N.C.O. agitation is the determined way it has set its face against the drink evil. Some eminently respectable Indians have been prosecuted and sent to jail for their over-zealous action in the fight against alcohol. It is a regrettable thing that with Western culture we imported Western drinks and Western modes of drinking also. It is doubtful if there is a club in India to-day that has not a bar attached to it. Many Brahmins and Muhammadans who by their respective religion are absolutely forbidden from drinking alcohol have become adepts in the art now—some of them raising it to the level of a Fine Art. A high-placed Brahmin official in Madras used to get his whisky from a Chemist's shop poured into eight ounce bottles labelled with the excellent direction "to be taken as often as desired". To-day the N.C.O. school of politics in India works hard to make India once again go dry.

The two great English-speaking countries, England and America have at last realised that the drink question was their greatest and most difficult problem. Before the war drink was the besetting sin of the two countries; de war conditions were not exactly calculated come to nor "teetotalism". Both countries unless liquor was elimin and industries will not lives of the citizens and the traffic in daily totally suppressed. Drink clouds the intellect and ruins the body. The experience of every employer tells him that a working man in the grip of drink can never compete on equal terms with another who is an abstainer. Any insurance company will tell us that an absolute "teetotaller" stands the chance of living longer than one who drinks.

In England during the war the liquor business was under control. Owing to the State regulation that reduced supply and lowered the alcoholic contents of beverages there was at once a reduction in arrests for drunkenness of men and women to one-third of the pre-war figures, deaths due to alcoholism by one-fourth and insanity from the same cause by one half. In the factories themselves attendance became more regular, individual output increased per hour and sustaining power became greater. In England as in India "there has always been too much of loafing from the heads of industries down to the mannual workers. We made far too little use of machinery. There is far too much drinking. Cut the drink bill" and you will have some millions saved every year.

"No one can go very far into the production situation here (England) without a fresh look at the wastage from the bunghole—the alcoholic bunghole. There may be such a thing as making too much of the drink situation here, because most men are so for, clean living and law abiding. Working men are not heavy drunkards, taken as a whole, and it is a fact worth noting that many of the well known labour representatives here are total abstainers. But this is undeniably true; if any one thing threatens the large scale output for which the whole industry is organising itself it is a drink situation such as was familiar before the war. This country has been no worse in this respect than many another. If any people anywhere in the world follow the ways of order those of the British Isles most certainly do. But there is and there has been enough of a liquor problem here to make any slurring over of its mischief a source of great danger."

"During the war the drink question ceased to be a purely reform issue. It was dealt with entirely as a protection question; and the temperance reformer, as such, was elbowed away by the businessmen, industrial magnate efficiency expert and doctor who were concerned wholly with the winning of the war. The workitraffic was assailed because it lessened fighting power. From the point of view of both efficiency and economy the case against drink was argued with vigor and there was every indication that at one time the Government was about to prohibit out right the manufacture and sale of drink.

Mr. Lloyd George talking about the lure of drink to some of the munition workers said: "They refuse to work full time, and when they return their strength and efficiency are impaired by the way in which they have spent their leisure. Drink is doing us more damage in the war than all the German sub-

157

marines put together", and quoted the authority of reports from the Admiralty and War office. The Transport Workers' Federation stated that the diminished efficiency of the intemperate minority—"so interdependent in modern labour"—showed a marked influence upon the output of the total number of men engaged in any set of operations.

This was the situation in England before the war. In dealing with it the authorities undertook a policy of restriction; they curtailed the hours of sale, prohibited the sale of liquors above a specified strength, and sought to remove incentives to excess by establishing canteens for the sale of non-alcoholic refreshment, and by prohibiting "treatment" and "chalking up". Convivial drinking was shown to be the cause of nearly half the convictions in the Police courts: and the practice of "chalking up" a score for the habitues of a public house and getting a settlement on pay - day is one that "makes a glass in hand worth two in the envelop". The control policy was embodied in the Defence of the Realm Act, and gave large powers to a board to control the drink trade.

"These powers were exercised in many ways: licensed houses and clubs were closed or their hours of business reduced, the sale and supply of particular kinds of liquor restricted and the importations of liquor into specified districts prohibited. The zones of restriction were gradually widened, because different hours of sale, for instance, in small contiguous districts had the effect of providing drinking men with facilities not foreseen by the Liquor Board. There were demands for the application of a common order to larger districts."

"At the close of 1915 half the population of Great Britain was under the Board's orders, and at the end of 1917 roughly 38 millions of Britain's population of 41 millions were enjoying the benefits of the control policy. (Vide The New Labour Movement in Great B[illegible] by Meyer Bloomfield.)

This was what Britain did for herself and it is precisely what India now demands in her turn. Twenty years ago India was quite "Dry" while the rest of the world was not. India has now taken her rank among the "wet" nations of the world. Other races are now seeking once for all to go "Dry". India seeks only to resume her old state. Who will say 'No' to this?

NOTES.

We are glad to inform our readers that *The Madras Review* has now been placed on a sound financial footing and that it will make its appearance regularly in future. Arrangements have been made to improve the scope of the paper and to make it more attractive. We have secured some eminent contributors who will write on topics of varied interest. Owing to financial difficulties, we regret our past irregularity; yet none will deny that we were pertinacious. A journal that neither fears nor favours any one and having as its ideal the advancement of man, scorning the low tricks which personal jealousies and party rivalries create is what we aim to be. We have every hope that with the co-operation of our readers, *The Madras Review* will do some usful service in the social, political, and intellectual field.

* * * *

Lord Willingdon's statement in the Madras Legislative Council last Thursday was very fair and sympathetic. His reference to the remissness of the Government in not taking precautionary measures in advance is an intelligent anticipation of the charge to which the Government lay themselves open. Under existing conditions, until the disturbances are completely quelled we would not have said anything about it. The responsibility of all civilised governments to protect the lives and property of law-abiding citizens is elementary knowledge to all. We reserve our comments on this aspect of affairs until we are in possession of fuller details of the incidents in Malabar. Any criticism now may be un[illegible] and even handicap restoration of m[illegible]ties will and happy relations b[illegible] concerned.

* * * *

[illegible]ency appeals in all earnestness [illegible]organise an effective counter-propaganda, to do all that lies in the members of the Council "to refute misrepresentations of the actions and motives of Government and to encourage the people in resisting the intolerable terrorism which is the very antithesis of all true liberty". But we have learned by actual experience that the Government have a sort of terror in openly acknowledging the friendship and assistance of their supporters while they display remarkable ingenuity in

singling out the less violent of their opponents for preferment, the only alternative being seventh-rate mediocrities whose absolute impotence has convinced themselves and others of their capacity to take part in public life. A man who has not the courage to enter public life either as a friend or foe of the Government is at a high premium now. To favour a bitter opponent is out of the question; to favour a supporter is always feared as inviting hostile criticism. It is this non-discript policy that has landed the Government in its present unenviable position. Strong action consistently pursued will always result in strong support by one side or the other, while wishy-washy methods can only produce nodding acquaintances.

* * * *

We note with pleasure the steps in contemplation by the new Minister for Education to introduce vocational training in schools. The present education gives our boys a wide knowledge of Modern History and Mathematical calculations but not enough knowledge to enable them to keep the wolf from their doors. It is a tragic fact of Indian life that the greater one's learning the fewer his chances of earning a livelihood. While the uneducated man can at least get one meal a day his educated friend next door can get none. A motor mechanic can easily get a hundred rupees and more in any town in India, while a Master of Arts finds it difficult to get even a modest fifty. Let us hope the new educational policy of the Government will introduce something different.

* * * *

gone
session. Tanjore Conference has come and
hatred of one leader the wiser for its boistrous
greater than their combined hatred that the personal
Government. Having decided other was to non-co-ope
rate with the Government in every way, one fails to see why the non-co operators should waste money in holding conferences here and there. Mahatma Gandhi's movement has split the Madras Presidency into various parties and cliques. Inter-provincial jealousies have been roused and not a day passes without a cry for communal representation here and provincial exclusiveness there. With all our respect for those who sincerely believe in non-co-operating with the Government, we might say that if their past record can be any indication of their future achievements, the country will soon pray to be let alone. For ourselves, considering the way the followers of Mahatma Gandhi are exhibiting their real mentality, we may get ready to go out of India, if Swaraj were to come, as per sample submitted already.

* * * *

In our leading article we have written on the disturbances in Malabar. We condemn the attitude of the Moplas, not because we are convinced that every action of the Government is right or that we have no sympathy with those who have lost their lives in this frightful revolt. If, in the light of fuller information, we find the authorities were wrong, we shall as severely condemn them and call for condign punishment. Anarchy in any form cannot be tolerated; and to the extent that force is necessary to suppress the rising in Malabar, it must be speedily and effectively used, but not a minute longer and never as revenge.

* * * *

If Lord Willingdon proved more tactful at the outset, the labour situation in Madras would not have taken its present turn. When over 10,000 people are thrown out of employment, disorder is sure to be the outcome. It is no use suppressing people by force before their legitimate grievances are redressed. An amicable settlement must be arrived at with Messrs. Binny & Co., and the strike ended. His Excellency erred when he said sometimeago, that the Government would not interoffered. The labourers refused to accept the terms
not stop there. The manner of the province did
Adi-Dravida community behaved, in which the
the support of the Government, as if it had
censed the numerically larger section of caste Hindus and Muhammadans. This is the time for sound statesmanship, and we hope His Excellency's efforts will be more successful.

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